

The Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference,  
Cairo, Egypt - Dec. 26 - Jan. 1, 1958

*spell out - 26 December 1957 - 1 January 1958*

Origins of the Conference

→ In December, 1957, the first general gathering sponsored by the Asian Solidarity Committees since their inception in March-April, 1955, will take place in Cairo, Egypt. Like the constituent gathering, which took place in the week preceding the Afro-Asian ("Bandung") Conference of states in Indonesia, this gathering is closely linked to the International Communist attempt to ally itself with and infiltrate the countries of the uncommitted world, and through action at the non-governmental level, constitutes a maneuver to exert pressure upon the governments of these countries.

In spite of a number of attempts made from late 1955 on by the USSR and China to bring about a second Afro-Asian conference of governments, no such conference has ever been held, and the five Colombo countries (India, Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon, and Indonesia) which were given the responsibility at Bandung for convening such a conference, have, with the exception of Ceylon, shown little enthusiasm for a second gathering.

It is, however, interesting to note that as early as the end of September of 1955, Egyptian sources sought to encourage the convening of the conference there, and President Nasr himself was involved in efforts to bring the conference to Cairo.

Central issues which contributed to the failures to bring about a second Bandung Conference included the insistence of some of the Colombo powers on the inclusion of Israel, the thorny question of the propriety of Soviet participation, the reluctance of states participating in the Baghdad and SEATO pacts to expose themselves to criticism at such a gathering, satisfaction with the cooperative efforts and consultative opportunities available within the framework of the United Nations, and concern that, if the gathering were to take place in the Near East--in either Cairo or Damascus--it might be exploited primarily as a forum for extremist Arab nationalism.

The first significant step toward the convening of the Solidarity Conference in Cairo as an alternative at the "popular" level to a second Bandung Conference occurred in

October, 1956, in Tokyo, when the Egyptian Ambassador Osman Obeid was the principal speaker at a meeting called by the Japan Asia Solidarity Committee. The meeting was attended by a Soviet representative, observers from a number of other Asian embassies, and by Japanese representing virtually every major front group and activity in which the Japanese Communist Party was then involved. At least one member of the Central Standing Directorate of the Japanese CP was present. Ambassador Obeid defended his government's rapprochement with the USSR, the nationalization of the Suez Canal, and the general anti-colonial orientation of its policy.

At the time of the Suez crisis (Nov. -Dec., 1956) Egyptians with records of activity in the Peace Partisans, and various Egyptian Communist groupings over the years appealed, necessarily with the approval of the Government of Egypt, to the major international Communist Fronts. Those appealed to included the World Peace Council, the World Federation of Trade Unions, and the World Federation of Democratic Youth, all of which promptly expressed their support of the Egyptian people in their struggle against imperialism.

From this time forward, the Communist interest in using the Middle East, and particularly Egypt, as a focus for its unity-of-action campaign based on Afro-Asian solidarity rapidly emerged.

Subsequently, in November, 1956, an Egyptian delegate E. Jalal attended the All-India Peace Congress in Calcutta and in his speech to the Congress, praised Afro-Asian Solidarity on the Egyptian issue, and praised Communist China, where he had recently visited. He is believed to be identical with Muhammad Fuad Jalal, a member of the Egyptian National Committee of the Afro-Asian Solidarity organization, a deputy speaker of the Egyptian National Assembly, and a participant in the Arab People's Conference sponsored by Middle East Peace Partisans in September, 1956.

In December, 1956, Abd al Rahman Khamissi, a prominent Egyptian Communist newsmen employed by Anwar Sadat on the newspaper Al Gumhuriya, attended a meeting in Moscow sponsored by the Soviet Peace Committee.

The next step toward the Conference occurred in February, 1957, after the Suez crisis had subsided. At the conclusion of the Asian Writers Conference held in India--in December,

1956, another attempt at creating a regional Communist front which proved a failure from the Communist point of view--a goodwill mission from the Asian Solidarity Committee proceeded to Cairo, arriving on 1 February. This delegation was composed of individuals in India to attend the Writers Conference, and included Dr. Anup Singh, a member of the Indian Parliament, Yang Shuo, a novelist from Communist China, Masahara Hatanaka, a Japanese journalist, and Anatoli Sofronov, a Soviet writer. The group was received by Nasr and entertained by Muhammed Fuad Jalal and a number of organizations, among them the Journalists Union. During this visit the group proposed that an Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference be held in Cairo in October, 1957, and received the endorsement of President Nasr for the idea. Hatanaka in March, 1957, during the course of a month's visit to the USSR after his departure from Egypt stated the decision to expand the Asian Solidarity organization into an Afro-Asian body was made in India in December, 1956.

This period also saw the launching of efforts to organize an Arab-Asian Lawyers' Conference, and an Afro-Asian Trade Union Conference, in both of which Communist personalities

played leading roles.

In June Nesterov of the Soviet Peace Committee (also CPIT, etc.) en route to the World Peace Council meeting in Ceylon issued a joint statement, in Tokyo, together with ICHIRO Hatoyama, the former Prime Minister and current President of the Japan Soviet Society, supporting the Cairo Conference planned for the autumn. In July, Khalid Mukhi-al-Din's newspaper Al Masa'a published a summary of an interview given by Chou-en-Lai earlier in the year, in which Chou favored the convening of a new conference of Asia and African countries. It is not clear here, or in a statement made in Moscow on 26 July 1957 by Mr. Ali Sastroamidjojo of Indonesia, whether the popular--i.e., non-governmental conference, was being endorsed, or whether renewed efforts were being made to bring about a second Bandung conference at the governmental level. In any event, more recent information suggests that both are desired, with the popular conference serving, as in April 1955, as the precursor of the governmental conference. Today, however, the popular conference also appears to have the function of exerting pressure on reluctant governments to induce them to participate in a true second Bandung Conference.

No further concrete steps were taken, however, until the beginning of August, 1957. There are, however, indications that Anwar Sadat was in communication with Dr. Anup Singh concerning the plans for the gathering, and two of the Egyptian delegates who attended the World Peace Council meeting in Ceylon in June, 1957--Ahmad Abd-al-Rahman Sharqawi and Ahmad Lutfi Al-Khuli--have been closely identified with Khalid Mukhi-al-Din on the staff of his government-supported newspaper, Al Masa'a since October, 1956, and February, 1957, respectively. The Chinese representative on the Preparatory Committee eventually set up in October, 1957--Tang Ming-Chou, was also present at this June WPC meeting in Ceylon.

At the beginning of August, the Japanese sponsors of the 3rd World Conference for the Prohibition of the Atomic and Hydrogen Bomb sent a telegram to Egypt urgently inviting an Egyptian representative to participate in the gathering. Khalid Mukhi-al-Din managed to secure President Nasr's permission to make the trip, and flew to Tokyo, where, after discussions with leaders of the Asian Solidarity Committees

of Japan, India, and Communist China, a joint statement was issued that an Afro-Asian Countries Conference of people's representatives would meet in Cairo in early October, 1957. This statement was made within three days of Mukhi-al-Din's arrival, and four days prior to the opening of the anti-Atomic and Hydrogen Bomb Conference. The Chinese appeared to take the lead in favoring the Egyptian participation in the matter, and invited Mukhi-al-Din to make a three-week visit to China after the end of the Conference. The wife of the Secretary General of the Communist Party of India was present as an Indian delegate and participated in discussions with the Egyptian delegate. According to the statement, travel and living expenses for the Conference were to be borne by the Egyptian Peace Committee and/or the Government of Egypt.

The fact that it was necessary for the Japanese group to send a telegram to Cairo in order to gain Egyptian participation appears somewhat surprising in view of the fact that Hatanaka had stated as far back as 18 March 1957 that President Nasr had promised to send an Egyptian delegate to 3rd World Conference on Prohibition of Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs.



The Preparatory Committee convenes (21-23 October 1957)

Finally, in early October, a preparatory committee was invited to convene in Cairo. The original invitation was sent out on behalf of the Egyptian hosts by Yusuf-as-Sibai, and went to Dr. Anup Singh as the secretary of the Asian Solidarity Committees, and directly to a number of other countries, principally in Africa, where Solidarity Committees did not exist. Twenty-one countries eventually were represented at the preparatory committee meetings which were held on 21-23 October 1957. These included, as representatives of already existing Solidarity Committees:

- a. India - Dr. Anup Singh - Vice Chairman and Chairman of the subcommittee to study the agenda; member of the subcommittee for press affairs; Indian Member of Parliament; secretary of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee for India; participated in All-India Conference Against Nuclear Weapons (India Peace Committee-sponsored event).
- b. Japan - Tokesaburo Dan - member of subcommittee for press affairs; Japan Peace Council; World Peace Council; Asian Solidarity Committee. Soroda Sunao - a leading figure of the liberal Democratic Party and former Parliamentary Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs.

- c. China - Tang Ming-chou - World Peace Council member; member of Chinese National assembly.
- d. USSR - P. Azimov - Rector of University of Turkmenistan; member of Soviet Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity.
- e. North Vietnam - Nguyen Duc Quy - member of North Vietnam Solidarity Committee.
- f. Mongolia - (not identified)
- g. Burma - Yebaw Myo Myint - General Secretary' of the Burmese Peace Council; member of Burma Workers and Peasants Party; member of Burma Trade Union Congress (CP controlled).

The Chinese delegate arrived on 16 October, a week prior to the opening of the regular meetings.

The other countries participating were represented by individuals selected in a number of different ways - in a few instances they were designated by their governments to attend; in others the representatives are fugitives from their own countries. They comprised:

- a. Indonesia - (not identified)
- b. Iraq - JABIRUMAR - Fugitive from justice, who sought

refuge in Syria in January 1957.

- c. Jordan - Abdullah al-Rimawi - former Minister of State; Ba'athist and CPJ contact. Refugee in Syria.

Note: Another unconfirmed report stated that Shafiq Irshaydat and Hahya Hamadi of Jordan participated.

- d. Lebanon - (not identified)
- e. Libya - Ali Rajib - Editor of Defunct Pro-Egyptian Libyan newspaper Al Liwa.
- f. Syria - Ali Buzo - Left-wing populist deputy; ex-minister; long associated with Syrian Communist leaders; elected to parliament with Communist support 1947; Frequent visitor to USSR and Communist China. Active participant in World Peace Council activities for many years. Michel Aflaq - Right-wing theoretician of the Arab Soviet Resurrection Party (Ba'ath).
- g. Tunisia - Yusuf al-Roweissi - Denounced as Nazi ~~gaining~~ by Habib Bourgiba as early as 1943.
- h. Turkey - Suat Belge - Faculty of Ankara University.
- i. Algeria - Muhammed Tawfiq al-Madani - possible member of F. L. N. (Algerian national liberation forces.)
- j. Sudan - (not identified)

- k. Ceylon - *(not identified)*
- l. Afghanistan - Abdul Rashid Latifi - Head of Afghan Information Office, Cairo; formerly in Afghan Foreign Office. One source reported that Salah-al-Din Saljuqi, Afghan Ambassador to Egypt, was also present.
- m. Cambodia - Huot Sambath - Former Minister of Education; friendly to UESR and Chinese missions in Cambodia; opportunist.
- n. Japan - Sonoda Sunao - Vice Chairman of preparatory meeting. Those identified as representing Egypt are:
- o. Anwar Sadat - Chairman of the preparatory committee; Secretary General of the Islamic Congress; member of Egyptian RCC; editor of Al Gumuhuriya, which has been consistently pro-Soviet. Newly designated head of the national union - one party political organization in Egypt.
- o. Cameroons - Felix Moumie - past President of union des PEUPLES CAMEROUNAIS. Founder of Peace Committee for North Cameroons. Deported successively from French and British Cameroons since mid 1957.
- \* A. B. Pepera - Newly appointed ambassador to Egypt, participated in the Afro-Asian Lawyers Conference, Nov. 1957, and in the past has been head of the Ceylon Asian Solidarity Committee.

**Khalid Mukhi-al-Din - editor of Al Masa; self-admitted**

**Communist; member of RCC; Peace Partisan; Egyptian  
representative in Satellite arms procurement.**

**Yusuf al-Sibai - Chairman of sub-committee for administr-**

**tive arrangements; member of sub-committee for  
press affairs; former naval officer; author; critic;  
editor of Resalia.**

**Muhammad Hasanayan Haykal - Editor of Al Ahram; confidant  
of Nasir.**

**An Egyptian Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee was created in  
in preparation for the meeting, with the following participants:**

**Anwar Sadat - see above**

**Khalid Mukhi-al-Din - see above**

**Taha Husayn - leading literary and cultural figure; anti-US.**

**Ahmad Baha-al-Din - leftist editor**

**Muhammad Fahmi al-Sayyid - member of National Assembly,  
legal adviser and brother-in-law  
to Nasr.**

**Muhammad Hasanayan Haykal - see above**

**Abd-al-Qadir Hatim - deputy, and director of the Egyptian  
Government information department**

**Muhammad Fuad Jalal - Deputy; strong supporter of friendship  
with Russia; member of Egyptian Univer-  
sity Graduates Association, an object of  
Communist penetration efforts.**

Ihsan Abd-al-Kuddus - editor of pro-Communist  
Rose al-Yusuf

Salih Abd-al-Hafiz - deputy

Zakariya Lutfi Gornaa - anti-U. S. intellectual

Naguib Mahfouz

Abd al Aziz Sadik

Activities of the Preparatory Committee

The preparatory committee set up two sub-committees, one for administrative arrangements and the other to study the agenda. A further sub-committee for press affairs was also created and charged with the preparation of press bulletins. The crucial agenda committee met on 22 October 1957 under the chairmanship of Khalid Mukhi al-Din, and postponed discussion of the agenda in order to prepare a message in support of the people of Syria. This led to the first evidence of disagreement, when the Turkish delegate, supported by the Cambodian delegate refused to concur in or sign the final text. These two delegates also refused to endorse a cable to the Secretary General of the United Nations calling for the setting up of a commission to study the Syrian situation on the scene. Another message to the UN denouncing French military measures in Algeria was also approved, again with the Turkish delegate abstaining.

With reference to administrative matters the preparatory committee decided on Arabic, French and English as the official

languages for the conference and hoped to obtain simultaneous translation facilities. They also decided that five man delegations will be invited and that two of the five delegates will have all their expenses paid, ostensibly by the Egyptian Solidarity Committee, and that the other three delegates will receive free lodging. Additionally, observers will be welcome but will receive no financial assistance.

The agenda adopted by the preparatory committee comprises the following topics:

- a. A review of the present international situation and its effects on the Afro-Asian peoples.
  - b. Opposition to imperialism and the attainment of the people's right of independence and sovereignty.
  - c. War in Algeria.
  - d. The banning of the use of atomic weapons and the halting of the atomic tests.
  - e. Racial discrimination and segregation.
  - f. Support of economic and technical cooperation among the Afro-Asian peoples.
  - g. Greater cultural exchanges between Asian and African countries.
  - h. Other matter submitted by delegates.
- The plan for the work of the actual conference in December provides for three major committees--cultural, political, and economic.

for three major committees--cultural, political, and economic. In addition, other committees may be formed of representatives of countries with common special problems, such as the Middle Eastern states and the African states.

So far a total of fifty countries are reported as planning to send delegations to the December Conference. In addition to the twenty-one listed above, the following have been identified as having received invitations.

North Korea

Nepal

Pakistan

Ghana

Morocco

Liberia

Thailand

Malaya

Uganda

Cameroons

According to the Cairo press the following "non-participating" countries have been invited to the conference: Oman, Senegal, Eritrea, Nigeria, and Somaliland.

Interim Activities:

On 30 October 1957 a delegation from the preparatory committee,  
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arrived in Damascus for a four-day visit. Egypt, Algeria, the USSR, China, India, Japan, and Mongolia were represented, as was the Cameroons, although the latter had not participated in the Cairo deliberation. Khalid Muhki-al-Din was the Egyptian representative and appears to have acted as spokesman for the group.

The group later visited the President of Syria, the Prime Minister, and the Speaker of Parliament. In addition, to these protocol visits, they also visited the offices of two Syrian political parties, the Populists and Communists.\* Indian, Chinese, and Egyptian representatives made speeches attacking imperialists, and supporting Syria.

- \* The decision to visit these two parties, one of which is basically a conservative nationalist party may at first glance seem peculiar, but it should be noted that the Communist national front alliance strategy in Syria has to a significant degree involved cooperation by the Communist Party with individual left-wing Populist leaders who have strengthened their position in the Populist party appreciably since the August, 1957, domestic crisis. This had not, however, prevented the Communists from cooperating with the radical Ba'ath party as well.

There is reason to believe that a permanent secretariat has been established and that the preparatory committee intends to remain in more or less continuous session between now and the conference. Even after the closure of the formal meetings, the body has continued to issue pronouncements on Syria, Algeria, and other issues.

On 30 October an appeal was issued to all Egyptian individuals and organizations to express themselves in favor of the anti-nuclear weapons resolution formulated at the Tokyo Conference in early August, 1957.

Further meetings of the permanent secretariat were scheduled to take place on 2 and 3 November.

Left-Populist Ali Buzo, Syrian member of the preparatory committee, had an electoral agreement with Communist Georges Uwayshaq when the two were running in the September, 1954, elections, has long been active in Peace Partisan activity, and to date has not given any evidence of opposing the further extension of Communist infiltration and influence in the Syrian Government. On the other hand, Georges Uwayshaq was reported expelled from the Communist Party of Syria on September, 1957.

**PART II - Communist Objectives and Treatment of Principal Themes**

Like all unity-of-action efforts of International Communism, this conference provides opportunities for three kinds of work:

- a. Exertion of influence
- b. Infiltration
- c. Exacerbation of tensions.

Under the first heading, it is apparent that the Communist aim is to induce those governments and groups represented at the conference to:

1. Endorse and adopt the Soviet/Communist analysis of the problems and sources of tension in Africa and Asia, with particular emphasis on Syria and the Arab world in general.
2. Declare, in as positive terms as possible, their intention of actively supporting national liberation movements, particularly in the Arab world.
3. Endorse, in connection with the many disputes which exist throughout the area, the position advocated by those elements represented at the conference, which in virtually all instances represents the policy line adopted by the respective Communist Parties at the national level.

4. Endorse, in connection with the world-wide Soviet-inspired "peace" campaign, the Soviet policy on atomic and hydrogen bombs and on disarmament.

5. Endorse admission of Communist China to the United Nations.

6. Endorse economic development in Africa and Asia along socialist lines, including as far as feasible the encouragement of acceptance of expanded trade and aid from Soviet bloc countries.

Infiltration:

Under the second heading, the primary objective of the conference is to secure general acceptance of the principle of Soviet participation in Afro-Asian activities as an Asian state (or states, as was the case at the Arab-Asian Lawyers' Conference in November, 1957).

The probability also exists that the conference may provide for the creation of a permanent council and/or secretariat, in which event the establishment of Communist control of key positions, such as those responsible for press, international liaison, etc., is a definite probability. Multinational Communist participation is likely to be used, to conceal as far as possible the full extent of such infiltration. Soviet and Chinese partici-

pation is also likely to be kept to the minimum for the same reason.

Infiltration at the national level is also an objective in the context of this conference. New Solidarity Committees are being created hastily at present in countries where they did not heretofore exist, and evidence already is available to show that local Peace Partisan, Communist Party, and Soviet bloc friendship society figures are taking the initiative or participating actively in the formation of these Committees.

In at least one instance a local Communist Party has already designated a loyal Party member to attend the conference with the delegation, acting in a subordinate capacity. He has, however, been given the additional task of observing the behavior and reactions of the national delegates, presumably for the purpose of assisting the Party in its subsequent efforts to bring specific participants into closer and more dependable contact with the Party itself.

Under the third heading, the degree of success achieved by the Communist participants in their attempts to influence the delegations will directly contribute to increases of tensions between the governments and groups represented and, primarily, the nations and groups whose policies are censured or condemned.

This, however, is one of the more sensitive aspects of the probable Communist action program; there is already evidence, in a statement made on 11 November 1957 by Anup Singh, quoting Nasr, to indicate that this possibility is creating concern to some participants. According to the report, Nasr "does not desire that the Afro-Asian Conference in Cairo be taken as an opportunity to launch a severe attack on any state or to put forward any controversial subjects." It is, however, difficult to see how this desire can be put into effect so long as the participants--including many of the Egyptians themselves, persist in treating the principal themes on the agenda in the terms so far used. (See attachment 1)

In another sense, opposition group representatives at the conference, who manage to gain conference endorsement of their pet projects and policies are certain to return home prepared to bring increased pressure to bear on their governments, based on their claim to "broad Afro-Asian support" for their ideas.

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Probable Treatment of Principal Specific Topics:

The primary Soviet interest in treatment of the most likely topics is well epitomized in a recent Moscow broadcast of a recorded *(See attachment 2)* interview with Anwar Sadat. The four questions asked of him cover the role of, and need for, Afro-Asian unity, the strength of the USSR and its identification with the forces for peace, the cessation of A and H-bomb testing, and the significance of the Bolshevik Revolution for the people of Egypt. Note that the last two questions were addressed to Sadat as an Egyptian "socialist," rather than as an Egyptian nationalist *(see Attachment 2)*.

Under the general agenda topic covering the discussion of the situation in the Middle East, all available evidence suggests that the main themes of Soviet/Communist propaganda likely to be developed are:

- a. Imperialist plots - basically against Syria and the Arab world, but also against other Afro-Asian countries. A considerable amount of propaganda material, including false documents and reports from foreign correspondents on this general theme has already been put into circulation, particularly in India, through the pro-Communist newspaper Bhita, whose editor R. K. Karanjia is also President of the *India-China Friendship Association*. ~~Indo-China Cultural Society~~.

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The USSR has also indicated, in interviews given by Khrushchev to Western newsmen and political figures, that it possesses "documentary evidence" concerning the plot against Syria, which it will reveal "at the appropriate time. Against the background of false documents already circulated, the character of such "documentary material" which may be released is readily apparent.

b. The myth of Communism in the Middle East - closely related to the first theme will be the attempt systematically to ridicule and reject the contentions concerning Communist influence in the Near East. The general line can be epitomized in the statement attributed on 11 November to President Nasser by Dr. Singh after his return to India: "The so-called threat of Communism in the area is a subterfuge to camouflage the design of the Western powers to interfere in the internal policies of the Arab states."

The degree to which, through use of standard unity-of-action tactics the Syrian Communist Party has in fact established itself firmly if inconspicuously in positions of influence and power, with the cooperation of precisely such individuals as participate on Syria's behalf in the work of the Conference is

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certain to be avoided, as will the evidence of Communist strength and interest which the Conference, itself like other Afro-Asian gatherings under similar auspices, represents.

c. "The Bandung spirit" - Communist and pro-Communist treatment of this topic is likely to concentrate on general endorsements of the "five principles," on the indispensability of popular support and encouragement for their full implementation (presumably by Afro-Asian governments which originally accepted them) and on equating <sup>this "Bandung spirit"</sup> it with the related term widely used in the Near East--"positive neutrality."

It will also be used to justify glowing descriptions of peaceful coexistence in action--such as accounts of cultural exchanges, etc. But the main use of the "Bandung spirit" theme is likely to occur during the preparatory period, where a considerable effort is already being made to associate the conference, in the minds of those to whom it appeals, with the Bandung Conference.

Peking radio on 26 October stated that, The decisive action to hold the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference is an important sign of the further development of the Bandung spirit. After the 1955 Asian-African Conference in Bandung, this will be

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another conference to symbolize the great unity of the Asian and African people and countries."

A particular effort has been made by the organizers to attract parliamentarians, ex-ministers of government and other personalities with a background of government connection in order to strengthen the characterization of the conference as one officially supported by the Bandung governments.

d. Positive neutrality - This term which is a favorite of Nasser's is used to epitomize the posture taken by Egypt and other like-minded Arab states in their relations with East and West. Perhaps the most revealing statement of its significance can be found in an editorial written by Khalid Muhhi-al-Din on the occasion of the visit of the Afghan Prime Minister to Egypt, where the adoption of a truly neutral attitude by some states is characterized as being in fact a capitulation to the West (Attachment 3). It reveals both sides of positive neutrality; i.e., that it is fundamentally an unneutral policy, favoring rapprochement with the Soviet bloc on the one hand, and on the other hand, a retreat from normal relationships with the states of the Free World, including those of the Afro-Asian area which in fact seek to follow a policy of neutrality and non-commitment.

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Note: The relation between the "Bandung spirit" slogan and the "positive neutrality" slogan, viewed against the background of Leninist doctrine concerning the anti-colonial struggle, is of particular interest. In Lenin's and Stalin's writings the point is repeatedly made that a crucial problem faces the Communist movement when it initially espouses--for tactical reasons--the idea of national self-determination and independence. This problem, in essence, is that of making a smooth and successful transition from a policy of splitting nations and peoples away from their existing relationships to the "more advanced" policy of inducing these same nations and peoples to accept unity with, and eventually incorporation into, the "camp of Socialism." In present day terms the Bandung spirit slogan epitomizes the first step in this transition,--with its emphasis on sovereignty, equality, and coexistence. The "positive neutrality" slogan, which is expressed in terms of rapprochement with the Soviet bloc, against the West and non-cooperating states, introduces, in a way calculated not to arouse alarm and distrust among most of its recipients, the idea of unity with the Communist world. The Afro-Asian conferences, the situation in Syria, and to a lesser degree the situation in Egypt, are evidence of both the cause and consequence of the adoption of this attitude.

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c. "Peace" - In the context of the Conference, the question of peace in the Middle East is likely to be a significant topic. It is impossible to discern the positive lines along which this discussion is likely to develop. But in negative terms, the strength, and the determination of the Soviet bloc to take all necessary steps to enforce peace in the area are certain to be emphasized, as are the horrors of nuclear warfare.

Two possible positive themes which may emerge at the Conference can be suggested:

- 1.) Demands for decisive UN action against aggressive ~~steps~~ allegedly taken by Syria's neighbors.
- 2.) Demands for decisive UN action--or for action ~~outside~~ outside the UN--to bring about a "peaceful settlement" of the Arab-Israeli issue.

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**Relationship of the Solidarity Conference to the Afro-Asian  
Lawyers' Conference - Damascus - 7-14 November 1957**

Given the well-known Communist interest in developing unity-of-action campaigns that are mutually supporting, it is enlightening to note the following links between the Asian Solidarity Conference and the Afro-Asian Lawyers' Conference.

a. The co-chairman of the Japanese Asian Solidarity Committee, Nagano Kanisuke, was: 1. Present, in October 1956 at the meeting in Tokyo at which the Egyptian Ambassador spoke; 2. present, in August, 1957, at the discussions in Tokyo attended by Khalid Mahdi-al-Din; 3. present, as a delegate, at the Afro-Asian Lawyers' Conference in Damascus. He is also president of the Japanese affiliate of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, the Communist front organization in the legal field.

b. A number of other delegates to the Afro-Asian Lawyers' Conference have also been identified with both the Afro-Asian Solidarity preparatory committee meetings in Cairo and Asian Solidarity activities in their own countries.

The agenda for the Solidarity Conference given above can be profitably compared with the agenda and, eventually, the deliberation

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and resolutions of the Afro-Asian Lawyers' Conference meeting in Damascus, 7-14 November. It is clear that the agenda are mutually supporting and reinforcing. The supervisory committee for this conference includes a number of well-known Communist front personnel, and leading figures who attend the meeting subsequently went to Moscow to participate in an international conference of the IADL. The main topics of the agenda are:

- a. Nationalization in the light of international law.
- b. Imperialism
  - (1) Rights of peoples to self-determination.
  - (2) Pacts, unequal treaties, military bases.
  - (3) Positive neutrality.
- c. Public freedoms and natural rights - problems of migration and racial discrimination.
- d. Aggression and its juridical consequences:
  - (1) Indirect aggression, interference in domestic affairs, economic pressure.
  - (2) Right of compensation of a state subject to an aggressor.
  - (3) Properties usurped by an enemy.
  - (4) Refugee problems.

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**e. World Peace: Nuclear explosions and their effects  
on the rights of man and on the future of humanity.**

**Each of the four topical themes discussed earlier in this paper is  
comprised in this agenda in some way, and the statements and  
resolutions which emerge from the Conference will undoubtedly  
shed additional light on the lines of argument likely to be used in  
Cairo in December. The final communique is attached for study  
(Attachment 4).**

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